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ABSTRACT

Although sex stereotypes have often been cited as barriers to women's entry into and advancement within management, few sex differences have actually been found on many important employment-related variables. To examine the extent to which sex stereotypes serve as barriers to women in management, 115 female and 110 male managers used the Descriptive Index, a 92-item adjective checklist, to rate one of seven possible targets: adult male; adult female; successful manager; unfamiliar manager, female or male; or familiar manager, female or male. Intraclass correlation coefficients (ICC) were used to measure the similarity of the characteristics assigned to the various targets. Results showed that ratings made by both male and female subjects of familiar and unfamiliar male and female managers were similar. Thus, it appears that categorization was based upon manager as the salient characteristic and not sex or degree of familiarity. In the condition involving men in general and women in general, sex seemed to be the characteristic used to categorize responses. The findings suggest that a separate categorization process is involved, such that when "manager" is salient, the characteristics attributed to the female manager are like those attributed to managers. When "sex" is salient, the characteristics attributed to the female target are like those assigned to women in general. (The appendices contain the adjective list and a six-item questionnaire measuring familiarity with the manager who was evaluated.) (JAC)

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WHEN MANAGER NOT SEX IS SALIENT: A LIMITATION TO SEX STEREOTYPES AS BARRIERS TO WOMEN IN MANAGEMENT

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When Manager Not Sex is Salient: A Limitation to Sex Stereotypes as Barriers to Women in Management

Sex stereotyping and the male managerial model have been identified as barriers to women who are entering into and advancing within management. This research suggests a limitation to the position that sex stereotypes are a pervasive barrier to women in management.

Managers, 115 female and 110 male, used the Descriptive Index, a 92-item adjective checklist developed by Virginia E. Schein (1973), to rate one of seven possible targets: adult male; adult female; successful manager; unfamiliar manager, female or male; or familiar manager, female or male. The first three targets replicate Schein (1973, 1975) and Massengill and Di Marco (1979).

Intraclass correlation coefficients (ICC) were used to measure the similarity of the characteristics assigned to the various targets. As in the earlier research, a significant resemblance between men and managers as rated by males and females was found. In addition, there was a significant resemblance between women and managers as rated by females and no significant relationship between women and managers as rated by males. The resemblance between both unfamiliar and familiar managers and the same sex stereotype followed a similar pattern.

The unfamiliar and familiar managers, regardless of sex of rater or sex of target, are perceived to be very similar to each other as well as similar to the concept successful manager. A cluster analysis of the 14 target profiles (each of seven targets rated by males and females) yielded three basic clusters: men in general rated by males and females, women in general rated by males and females, and the manager targets rated by males and females.

Such results indicate that when sex is salient the characteristics associated with successful managers are similar to those associated with men in general. But this association does not mean that women who are managers are perceived as lacking the characteristics attributed to managers. In fact, women who are managers are rated as similar to the stereotype of the successful manager and as very similar to other male managers.

These findings suggest that a separate categorization process is involved, such that when "manager" is salient, the characteristics attributed to the female manager are like those attributed to managers. When "sex" is salient, the characteristics attributed to the female target are like those assigned to women in general. Thus, sex stereotypes are not likely to act as barriers to women in management when "manager" is the female manager's salient characteristic. This research demonstrates that even when sex is known, "manager" not "sex" can be the salient characteristic upon which categorization is based.

When Manager Not Sex is Salient:
A Limitation to Sex Stereotypes as
Barriers to Women in Management

Much of the literature about women in management cites sex stereotypes as barriers to women's entry into and advancement within management (for example, Brown, 1979; O'Leary, 1974; Ruble & Ruble, 1982; White, De Sanctis, & Crino, 1981). But, a close look at the literature reveals that few sex differences have been found on many important employment-related variables, such as, leadership (Bartol, 1978; Jacklin & Maccoby, 1975), work attitudes or values (Bedeian & Armenakis, 1975; Brief & Oliver, 1976; Reif, Newstrom, & Monczka, 1978), and managerial performance (Deaux, 1979; Frank & Drucker, 1977; Hall & Hall, 1976; Martin, 1972; Moses & Boehm, 1975, Powell & Butterfield, 1980; Wood, 1978). In addition, methodological problems exist in studies of sex stereotyping (for example, Brannon, 1981; McKee & Sherriffs, 1957).

Many studies which are supportive of sex stereotypes as barriers can be described as an attempt to demonstrate sex stereotyping in employment as opposed to investigating whether or not stereotyping exists and, if so, the conditions under which it operates. Typically experimenters assume that sex stereotypes influence the behavior of their subjects, focus upon sex differences, provide subjects with limited amounts of information upon which to make a forced choice, and conclude that when a sex bias favoring males is found, sex stereotypes have influenced the judgments made by their subjects. Sometimes when the expected results are not found, the conclusion reached is that sex stereotypes actually do have a pervasive effect, but for some reason, the

female target should be considered an exception (for a more complete review, see Sylvan, 1982).

This research examines the extent to which sex stereotypes serve as barriers to women in management. The first part of the research replicates Schein (1973, 1975). Schein's research has had an important influence on the literature. In fact, Larwood and Powell (1981) credit three studies with introducing the concepts of stereotyping and discrimination in managerial selection. Two of these are Schein's (1973, 1975). Essentially, Schein (1977) concluded that "to think 'manager' is to think 'male.'" In 1979, Massengill and Di Marco replicated her results.

The second part of the study extends Schein's work. One characteristic of many studies on sex stereotyping is that the person making the judgment typically has only limited information about the target. When people do not know others very well, they tend to react to them on the basis of a small number of relatively obvious characteristics, such as, sex, race, dress or life style, occupation or social class, and age (Chafetz, 1978). Thus, it is possible that since raters frequently had limited information upon which to base a decision and since sex was salient, sex stereotypes were used as a source of information. In some studies, post hoc discussions suggest that sex stereotypes may serve an information function (Muchinsky & Harris, 1977; Powell & Butterfield, 1980; Rosen & Jerdee, 1974; Terborg & Ilgen, 1975).

In order to examine the effect of information, four additional targets were introduced: familiar manager, female or male, and unfamiliar manager, female or male. Familiar managers, that is, someone the rater knew for a year or more, was assumed to be a target for whom adequate

information was available. An unfamiliar manager, someone known for less than six months, provided a target for whom an intermediate level of information was available, i.e., more than a target known only as an adult female or male whom the rater has just met and less than someone who is well known.

Hypotheses

Schein's basic findings (using her methods and analysis) will be replicated:

1. The relationship among characteristics of men, women, and managers.
   a. The ratings on adjectives which females and males assign to men in general will be similar to those they assign to successful manager (for both female and male raters, $\hat{\rho}_I$ men in general and successful manager > 0).
   b. The ratings on adjectives which males assign to women in general will not be similar to those they assign to successful manager (for male raters, $\hat{\rho}_I$ women in general and successful manager = 0).
   c. The ratings on adjectives which females assign to women in general will be similar to those they assign to successful manager but the relationship will not be as strong as the one between characteristics of men in general and successful manager (for female raters, $\hat{\rho}_I$ men in general and manager > $\hat{\rho}_I$ women in general and successful manager > 0).

Thus, the same pattern of intraclass correlation coefficients as that obtained by Schein is predicted:

$\hat{\rho}_I$ (men in general and successful manager, male raters) > $\hat{\rho}_I$ (men in general and successful manager, female raters) > $\hat{\rho}_I$ (women in general and successful manager, female raters) > $\hat{\rho}_I$ (women in general and successful manager, male raters) = 0.

Schein's original research will be extended to assess the effects of information on the use of sex stereotypes and to examine the attributions given for success.

2. Regardless of sex of rater or sex of target, characteristics of unfamiliar managers will be judged more similar to the same sex stereotype than will familiar managers ($\hat{\rho}_I$ unfamiliar manager and stereotype > $\hat{\rho}_I$ familiar manager and stereotype).
3. The ratings on adjectives which females and males assign to familiar male managers wi'l be very similar to those they assign to familiar female managers ($\hat{\rho}_I$ familiar female manager and familiar male manager > 0).

Method

Subjects

The analyses are based on responses to a mailed questionnaire received from 115 female and 110 male managers with an average age of 35.3 and 40.4, respectively. Over 70% of the female managers were employed in communications or finance; 65% of the men were employed in communications or industrial electronics.

Procedures

Each subject evaluated one of seven different targets: adult male; adult female; successful manager; unfamiliar manager, female or male; or familiar manager, female or male. In each condition, the appropriate

form of Scnein's (1973) 92 item adjective checklist, the Descriptive Index, was used.

Instructions from the Descriptive Index for the original three targets were as follows:

> On this page you will find a series of descriptive terms commonly used to characterize people in general. Some of these terms are positive in connotation, others are negative, and some are neither very positive nor very negative.
>
> We would like you to use this list to tell us what you think (men in general, women in general, or a successful manager) are (is) like. In making your judgments, it might be helpful to imagine you are about to meet a person for the first time and the only thing you know in advance is that the person is (an adult male, an adult female, or a successful manager). Please rate each word or phrase in terms of how characteristic it is of (men in general, women in general, or a successful manager).
>
> The ratings are to be made according to the following scale:
>
> 5 - Characteristic of (men in general, women in general, the manager)
>
> 4 - Somewhat characteristic of (men in general, women in general, the manager)
>
> 3 - Neither characteristic nor uncharacteristic of (men in general, women in general, the manager)
>
> 2 - Somewhat uncharacteristic of (men in general, women in general, the manger)
>
> 1 - Not characteristic of (men in general, women in general, the manager)

The second paragraph of the instructions for the remaining four forms were varied slightly in order to clarify unfamiliar and familiar. The same rating scale was used with the manager stem. The instructions for these forms were as follows:

> We would like you to think of a (male or female) manager in your company with whom you are (not) very familiar, that is, someone you have known for (less than six months or over a

year). Use the list of words and phrases which follows to tell us what you think this manager is like. You do not need to give us the name of the manager just remember to rate each word or phrase in terms of how characteristic it is of the manager you have in mind.

The 92 adjectives or phrases were the same for all seven conditions. (See Appendix A for a listing.) In addition, all subjects who evaluated a familiar or unfamiliar target were asked to complete six questions about the contact they had had with the manager rated. (See Appendix B.)

Results

Schein (1973, 1975) used the intraclass correlation coefficient (ICC) to measure the resemblance or similarity between ratings assigned to one target and ratings assigned to another. In this study and Schein's, the ICC measures the extent to which mean ratings on a given item for any two targets tend to be similar relative to differences in mean ratings for different items. Thus, the ICC is maximal when the ratings for two different targets are identical for the same adjectives and ratings differ only from adjective to adjective. An estimate of the ICC was derived from a one-way ANOVA. The test of whether the ICC differs from zero in the population is based upon the ratio of $MS_{between}$ to MS_{within}, the usual F ratio for the one-way ANOVA.

The data in Table 1 provide a comparison of the results of the earlier studies (Massengill & Di Marco, 1979; Schein, 1973, 1975) to those of the present study. Each of these ICCs represents agreement by raters of the same sex evaluating different pairs of targets.

As predicted the same pattern of intraclass correlation coefficients as obtained by Schein (1973, 1975) was found: $\hat{\rho}_I$ = .50 (men and

TABLE 1

Intraclass Correlation Coefficients

from Earlier Studies and the Present One

	Men in General & Successful Manager		Women in General & Successful Manager	
	m[a]	f	m	f
Schein (1973)	.62**		.06	
Schein (1975)		.54**		.30**
Massengill & Di Marco (1979)	.62**	.67**	.00[b]	.35**
Present Study	.50***	.45***	.03	.21*

Note. Intraclass correlation coefficients and levels of significance were reported in Schein (1975) and Massengill and Di Marco (1979).

[a]Sex of rater.

[b]When $MS_{within} \geq MS_{between}$, the reported ICC is zero. (See Hays, 1963.)

*p <.05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.

managers, male raters) > $\hat{\rho}_I$ = .45 (men and managers, female raters)> $\hat{\rho}_I$ = .21 (women and managers, female raters)> $\hat{\rho}_I$ = .03 (women and managers, male raters). Thus, Schein's original finding that there is a significant resemblance between men and managers as rated by males as well as by females was replicated. In addition, there is the lower but significant resemblance between women and managers as rated by females and no significant relationship between women and managers as rated by males as was found by Schein and was replicated by Massengill and Di Marco (1979).

These results, therefore, support the initial hypothesis that Schein's basic findings would be replicated. The predicted pattern of

intraclass correlations was found and the ratings of men and managers by both males and females yielded a significant resemblance between men and managers ($p < .001$).

The contact questions, which were completed by each subject who rated an unfamiliar or familiar manager, were used to check the operational definition of familiarity. An inspection of the responses to these questions revealed that some respondents when requested to rate an unfamiliar target indicated having known the manager rated for a year or more. In addition, responses to other contact questions revealed that even when a manager was known for less than six months, a higher level of involvement with that person was indicated than was expected for an unfamiliar associate.

In order to allow comparisons of unfamiliar and familiar managers as initially conceptualized, the responses to the contact questions were used to recode the data into unfamiliar and familiar categories. A total of 15 was considered the maximum level of contact for an unfamiliar target, i.e., an average of 3 or less for each of questions 2 through 6. Based upon an average score of 4 or more for each of the five questions, 20 was used as the minimum level of contact for a familiar manager. The level of contact was considered ambiguous and the case was excluded from analyses which used recoded data if the total responses to the five questions fell between 16 and 19, inclusive.

The ICCs comparing unfamiliar and familiar managers with the same sex stereotype for both the original and recoded responses appear in Table 2. These results do not support the initial prediction that the ICC comparing the unfamiliar manager and the sex stereotype would be

TABLE 2

Relationship Between Unfamiliar and Familiar Managers and the Sex Stereotype as Measured by Intraclass Correlation Coefficients Computed on Original and Recoded Data

Raters	Unfamiliar Male Manager and Men in General	Familiar Male Manager and Men in General	Unfamiliar Female Manager and Women in General	Familiar Female Manager and Women in General
Female	.61*** (.49)***	.47*** (.53)***	.26* (.34)**	.34** (.32)**
Male	.64*** (.58)***	(.67)*** (.65)***	.16 (.08)	.15 (.27)*

Note. Intraclass correlation coefficients based upon recoded data appear in parentheses.

*p <.05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.

consistently greater than the ICC measuring the degree of similarity between familiar managers and the sex stereotype. In fact, in comparing Tables 1 and 2 the resemblance between both unfamiliar and familiar managers and the same sex stereotype seems to be somewhat stronger than when the target successful manager is compared with each sex stereotype.

Regardless of the rater's sex, the resemblance between an unfamiliar male manager and men in general is moderately high. The same is true for males comparing familiar male managers and men in general; female raters indicate a slightly lower resemblance than do the male raters. As in Table 1, female raters are the only subjects who consistently perceive a significant relationship between the adult female stereotype and

a manager target. Female raters, whether comparing familiar or unfamiliar female managers with women in general, indicate a statistically significant resemblance but one which is lower than the agreement observed between male manager targets and men in general. Male raters, however, see female managers as different from women in general, regardless of whether the female manager is familiar or unfamiliar.

The ICCs in Table 3 indicate that unfamiliar and familiar managers, regardless of sex of rater or sex of target, are perceived to be very similar to each other as well as similar to the concept successful manager. Thus, the prediction that regardless of sex of rater, ratings of male and female familiar managers would reflect a strong resemblance is supported. The finding also holds for male and female unfamiliar managers. These findings are supported by the results based on both original and recoded data.

Cluster analysis provides another method for comparing the profiles of ratings on the 92 adjectives for the various targets. Similarity of two profiles is measured by the Euclidean distance, the square root of the sum of squares of the distances between the adjective ratings in the profile, with the smaller distance measure indicating more similarity in the profile. The clustering process starts with all profiles as individual clusters, then at the first step joins the two most similar profiles, obtaining the average of the two and treating it as a single profile. The steps continue until all profiles are combined into one cluster.

The clustering of the target profiles was based upon the mean ratings of male and of female raters to each of the 92 items on the

TABLE 3

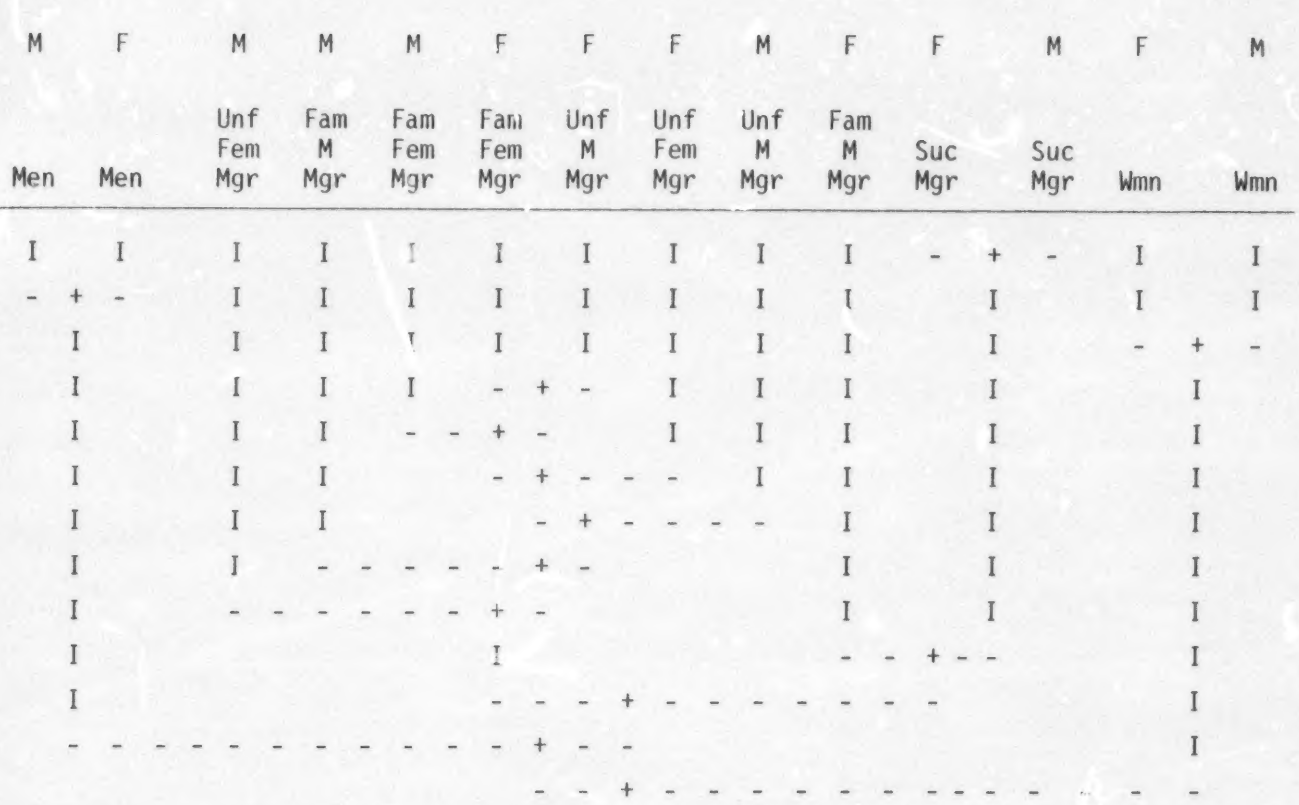
Degree of Resemblance Among Manager Targets as Measured by Intraclass Correlation Coefficients Using Original and Recoded Data

	Unfamiliar Female Manager	Unfamiliar Male Manager	Familiar Female Manager	Familiar Male Manager
Female Raters				
Successful Manager	.82* (.87)*	.82* (.88)*	.85* (.75)*	.94* (.93)*
Unfamiliar Male Manager	.91* (.90)*	-- --	-- --	-- --
Familiar Female Manager	.91* (.84)*	.90* (.80)*	-- --	-- --
Familiar Male Manager	.83* (.91)*	.86* (.91)*	.88* (.83)*	-- --
Male Raters				
Successful Manager	.90* (.90)*	.82* (.76)*	.90* (.81)*	.88* (.90)*
Unfamilar Male Manager	.89* (.84)*	-- --	-- --	-- --
Familiar Female Manager	.92* (.86)*	.86* (.79)*	-- --	-- --
Familiar Male Manager	.88* (.94)*	.89* (.85)*	.90* (.85)*	-- --

Note. Intraclass correlation coefficients based upon recoded data appear in parentheses.
*$p < .001$.

Descriptive Index for each of the seven different targets, thus providing 14 different profiles for analysis. The tree diagram in Figure 1 gives the results of the cluster analysis.

The first step in the cluster analysis combined the males and females' ratings of successful manager. The second step formed a cluster



rater: M F

target: Men Wmn Unf Fem Mgr Fam M Mgr Suc Mgr

Figure 1. Tree diagram: Cluster analysis.

of males and females' ratings of men in general, the ratings male and female raters made of women in general were joined on the third step.

The first three steps in the cluster analysis, thus, combined the "general" targets rated by females with the respective target rated by males into three different clusters so that the first cluster included successful manager, the second men in general and the third women in general. The fourth through ninth steps combined the ratings of all the familiar and unfamiliar manager targets except females rating familiar male managers which was combined with the successful manager cluster in the tenth step. This successful manager cluster was then combined with the cluster formed during the fourth through ninth steps. At the eleventh step three clusters emerged, men in general rated by males and females, women in general rated by males and females, and all of the manager targets rated by males and females.

Conclusions

Based upon the ICCs, the ratings made by both male and female subjects of male and female familiar and unfamiliar managers are similar. Thus, it appears that categorization was based upon manager and not sex or degree of familiarity. In the condition involving men in general and women in general, sex seems to be the characteristic used to categorize responses. The cluster analysis confirms these conclusions. (For a discussion of stereotyping as a categorization process, see, for example, Taylor, 1981).

In summary, it appears that in the men in general and women in general condition which replicated Schein (1973, 1975), sex was the salient characteristic used by the raters to assign traits to the adult

target. In the conditions which requested raters to assign traits to unfamiliar or familiar female or male managers, the target, regardless of familiarity or sex, was categorized by the raters as a manager. Thus, in these conditions, manager as opposed to sex became the dominant characteristic upon which the target was selected and upon which judgments were made.

Sex stereotypes then are more likely to act as barriers to women when sex is salient, so that a female is perceived as a person-who-is-a-woman. To assume that sex stereotypes are always restrictive to women in management includes the assumption that the female manager's sex is constantly her most salient characteristic. The present study indicates that women who are managers can be perceived as persons-who-are-managers and that the characteristics attributed to them are similar to those attributed to males who are managers.

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APPENDIX A

The following adjectives or phrases were listed in two columns following the directions and rating scale described previously. A space to the left of each item was provided for the numerical response.

Curious
Consistent
High need for power
Sympathetic
Fearful
Adventurous
Leadership ability
Values pleasant surroundings
Neat
Uncertain
Creative
Desire to avoid controversy
Submissive
Frank
Courteous
Emotionally stable
Devious
Interested in own appearance
Independent
Desire for friendship
Frivolous
Intelligent
Persistent
Vigorous
Timid
Sophisticated
Talkative
Strong need for security
Forceful
Analytical ability
Competitive
Wavering in decision
Cheerful
High need for autonomy
Able to separate feelings from ideas
Competent
Understanding
Vulgar
Sociable
Aggressive
High self-regard
Grateful
Easily influenced
Exhibitionist
Aware of feelings of others
Passive
Objective

Speedy recovery from emotional disturbance
Shy
Firm
Prompt
Intuitive
Humanitarian values
Knows the way of the world
Dawdler and proscrastinator
Quarrelsome
Industrious
Well informed
Not uncomfortable about being aggressive
Reserved
Ambitious
Not conceited about appearance
Strong need for social acceptance
Hasty
Obedient
Desires responsibility
Self-controlled
Modest
Decisive
Nervous
Direct
Hides emotion
Authoritative
Self-confident
Sentimental
Steady
Assertive
Feelings not easily hurt
Dominant
Tactful
Helpful
Strong need for achievement
Deceitful
Generous
Bitter
Logical
Skilled in business matters
Selfish
Demure
Kind
Strong need for monetary rewards
Self-reliant

APPENDIX B

Use these questions to provide information about your contact with the manager you just described. Check or circle the most appropriate response for each question. Do not use the spaces within the brackets; they are for coding purposes only.

1. Check the response which best describes the length of time you have known the manager you rated.

   _____less than 6 months _____1 year or more [_]

2. Indicate the frequency of work-related activities in which you participate with this manager.

   never weekly

   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 [_]

3. Indicate the frequency of discussions you have with other managers which include comments/information about this manager.

   never weekly

   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 [_]

4. In comparison to your involvement in work-related activities with other managers in your department or place of work, rate how involved you are with this manager in such activities.

   much less involved — much more involved

   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 [_]

5. Indicate the frequency of informal or social activities (i.e., not specifically work related) in which you participate with this manager.

   never weekly

   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 [_]

6. In comparison to your involvement in informal or social activities with other managers in your department or place of work, rate how involved you are with this manager in such activities.

   much less involved — much more involved

   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 [_]